

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE the

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L O R D M A Y O R

O F T H E

City of D U B L I N.

T H E C O U N T E R

A D D R E S S

O F

A Free CITIZEN.



D U B L I N :

Printed in the Year, M D C C L X V I.

To the Right Honourable the

LORD MAYOR

CITY OF DUBLIN

THE CORPORATION

ADDRESS

OF

A FINE COUNTRY



DUBLIN

Printed by J. M. H. & Co. 15, N. B. St. 1841

To the RIGHT HONOURABLE the

LORD MAYOR

OF THE

City of *DUBLIN*, &c.

My LORD,

AS an Address to the Publick, appears in Print, under the Title of an Address to your Lordship, and the Citizens of *Dublin*, which from its Nature and Publication, is an application to the Multitude thro' your Lordship, and that respectable Body of which you have the Honour to be the Head. And as its Tendency is very different from promoting that Peace, which it is your Duty as well as Inclination to preserve, tho' after throwing the Brand of Discontent, the Addressor calls on you to stop its fatal Flame, yet as its Force may be too violent for your single Endeavours, it is the Duty of every good Citizen to lend his Assistance, and to aid your Lordship in the Preservation of Tranquillity, by quieting the Minds of such as may have been disturbed by the false Insinuations and Reasonings which appear thro' every Part of that Address.

As it is always prudent to set out with some Truths, in order to gain Credit to the rest, the Addressor lays down a Doctrine which no Body can Contest, that a Representative has a Right to consult his Constituents, in weighty and important Points which come before the Parliament; but he omits to inform his Readers, that this should be done in a regular decent Manner, as by a Personal or Epistolary Application to a chief Magistrate, to call a Meeting of the Members of the Society, to deliberate on the Subject proposed, and to send their Member the Result of their Consultation

Such a Procedure is a private Transaction which relates only to the Member and his Constituents, is not printed and published for the general Perusal ; and in every Circumstance differs from the late Address, which is in the Hands of the Learned, and the Unlearned, in which no Advice is asked with any View or Expectation of an Answer, and is Publish'd after the Matter exclaimed against, had been debated in the House, and the Objections over-ruled by a large Majority. An Address tho' dedicated to your Lordship and Citizens, yet its first Introduction is by the Hands of Hawkers, and had gain'd Admission into most Publick Houses in this City, before it had the Honour of reaching your Lordship.

These Circumstances demonstrate the real Design was not to bring Peace, but the Sword, not to Save, but Destroy, and once more to try the old Experiment of inflaming a misguided People. To create Suspicions against the most respectable Personages in the State, and thereby raise a popular Clamor in Support of an Opposition, feeble in the House, and unnoticed without, whose constant Obstruction to publick Measures, shew they Act on other Principles than the *Amor Patriæ*, since 'tis impossible all Administrations should be so bad or absurd as never to form a Plan conducive to publick Utility.

In the present Sessions, every measure of Government was so free from Objections, as hardly to admit Debate, yet the Opposition had Fears, but they were not of Injuries to the Kingdom, but least the Purity and Wisdom of Government, should not give Opportunities for a Display of Patriotism ; but happily a Subject presented itself, by an insignificant Alteration in *England*, in the Heads of the Corn Bill ; here issued out all the Expletives of Oratory, Astonishment, Horror, Dejection, oh my Country ! the House resounded, and Eccho carried them to the *Puddle*.

This Bill was made to prevent our unthinking Farmers from starving themselves and the Publick, by being tempted to sell their Corn to foreign Markets and leave the Kingdom destitute of Bread, the remainder of the Year, a thing very likely from the nature of Mankind, who seldom look so far as to see a present Benefit, may be the Parent of a future Misfortune. This made the Providence of Parliament interpose in a Matter of such general Concern.

As it's well known, that this Kingdom does not at present, raise Corn near sufficient for its own Consumption, its evident

dent, that the Premium granted on Exportation, was rather done as an Encouragement to future Agriculture, than as an Inducement to export what we want at home, or must replace with considerable Loss, by Imports from other Countries. So that this Act now made to prevent Exportation, is intended as a temporary Obstruction to such impolitick Trading, but a power of suspending this Act, was thought proper to be trusted to the Crown's Discretion, meerly as the Addressor expressed it. - - -, to open our Repositories of Grain, and our Ports for the relief of *England*, as they have often done for us.

Now whether this discretionary Power in the Crown is exercised by the Advice of the Privy Council here or in *England*, makes no Difference in Regard to our Constitution, for however that Power is exercised, 'tis meerly by Virtue of and under the Authority of *our Act of Parliament*, and is given by ourselves, and not assumed by any Regal Prerogative.

The Alteration of our Heads of Bills in *England* is no Alteration of our Laws; we are still Judges of the Propriety of such, and may either adopt or reject it: And as a large Majority have agreed to the Alteration made to this Bill, and all the Reasoning of the Minority found Light in the Ballance, 'tis to be hoped notwithstanding this unprecedented Declamation addressed to your Lordship, the Publick will acquiesce in the Opinion of by much the greatest Number of their Representatives; as generally is, and ought to be done in most publick Matters.

If we keep in our Minds the Reason for the Power of Suspension, *viz.* an occasional Relief to *England*, it is evident the Alteration was founded on good Sense: as the Necessity of such Relief must be better known and sooner represented to his Majesty and Council in *England*, than it could be to the Government and Council here; and as these Wants may be sudden so should the Relief: otherwise the kind Intent of our Parliament would be rendered useless.

This Power the Address represents, as transferring the executive Power of the Laws to another Kingdom. If this was the Case nothing could be more absurd, as it would be making a Law a *Felo de se*: But in this the Addressor gives another Instance of his delusive Imposition on the Minds of ordinary Readers; for the Execution of this, as of every other Law here, It must be by our Officers, and every light Penalty or Dispute under this Act, must be determined in our Courts: How then is the executive Power transferred?

If his Majesty finds it necessary to permit Corn to be exported for *England*, his Orders are but Directions to our Officers; to let such Corn be shipped which otherways the Statute prohibits, the Execution of such Order is still by our Officers, to whom it is merely Directory, but the *Power* arises under our Statute.

Thus stands all the Addressor's *Transfer of the executive Power*. This is all his *innovating Clause and negative legislative Power, or Power of Dispensing*, which says he, our Policy abhors giving the Crown and its Ministers. Tho' he admits it was properly given by the Heads of the Bill for the Relief of *England*, yet again on the Alteration in *England* he seems repugnant to every dispensing Power, but as he has not precisely distinguished *proper* from *improper* Powers of Dispensing, not choosing perhaps his Readers should have too clear Ideas of any Matter he treats of, it is necessary to observe to your Lordship our Policy abhors a *prerogative Claim of Dispensing Powers*, which our Constitution has happily got clear of, since we were freed from the *Stuart Race* and their arbitrary Principles. But when a Law from its own Nature requires it should be dispensed with on some Occasions, the Parliament vests such Power in the King by the very Act which makes the Law as 'tis now evident, that nothing contrary to the Constitution has been attempted by this or any other Act of the present Government; therefore must hope that altho' our Worthy and Patriot Lord Lieutenant should concur with the Sentiments of the Majority in Parliament, the Addressor will not sully the unblemished and illustrious Name of *Seymour*, as he has done others, by inserting them in a Black List, which he endeavoured, but could not hand down to Posterity.

I hope your Lordship and the Publick see by this Time, that it is possible the Alteration may serve good Purposes, and that you may keep it clear of insidious Designs, tho' the Addressor will not. And that it may have arose from the Nature and Reason of the *Power itself*; and was not introduced to please SOMEBODY: Whether that SOMEBODY is a new Minister, or one by Resurrection, as the Address insinuates by a Mode of Writing more fallacious than any ministerial Trick he would allude to, and which is never used but where Designs extend further than Truth and Honesty can carry them. In Poetry, where the End is Pleasure, it is allowable, nay beautiful, where human Power ends, to call in the Aid of Deities; but as the Business of Prose is to in-

instruct, its proper Materials are true Facts and just Reasoning, which are never deserted but for the Sake of Imposture.

Upon the whole, as most Things are seen by different Persons in various Lights, and consequently various Judgments are formed, 'tis but candid to suppose, that of others, tho' different from ours, is framed with equal Sincerity; and however their Mistakes may deserve our Pity, they certainly should escape our Calumny.

How far such Sentiments appear in the Address, I beg Leave to submit to your Lordship and the Publick, who, I hope, are not impressed with the same Ideas that Paper raised in my Mind, when it tells your Lordship, the only Benefit that arises from an Opposition to Government, results to those he can't look on as Friends to their Country, viz. *Placemen and Pensioners*, whose Merit is enhanced, and Numbers generally increased, in Proportion to the Opposition given to the Measures of Government: from which, in my Mind, an Inference arises, That Ministers, who under the Crown are the Eyes of Government, and whom the Constitution considers as having the Care of, and to answer for, the Management of the Common Wealth, are nevertheless to be constantly considered as Enemies of the People's Rights and Liberties; and all their Plans for the Publick Good, as so many *Traps* for the People; and, therefore, whoever concurs with them in publick Measures, must be looked on as of the Corporation of *Trappers*, viz. *Placemen and Pensioners*, that is, scandalous Betrayers and Sellers of the Rights of the People: But this is a Picture so unnatural in *Design*, that no Colouring can make it bearable; and tho' we may admire the Hand of such a Painter, we must detest his Head and Heart. Our Constitution is happily framed to obviate the Fallibility of Mankind, the legislative Power is placed in the Judgment of several, and the executive Power tho' vested in the Crown, is administered by various Officers, some of which are Controls and Correctors of the Errors of others: Thus is our Constitution sufficiently protected without the Aid of such Addresses to the Populace, and as the Opinion of a Majority is most probably right, it should not be obstructed or censured without the strongest Reasons, and those legally and properly shewn: 'Tis no Wonder then the Author should think an Address of such a Nature would *in these Days seem alarming* as it is uncommon, and others may be further inclined to think 'tis equally illegal to appeal from an Act of the House of Commons to the People without Doors, which, indeed,

indeed the Author seems to allow by asserting for an Apology, That Necessity knows no Law : But as there seems neither Necessity for, nor even Utility in the Address, he must admit the Law to reassume its Function ; and then it is a Quere, whether *some crafty and subtle Lawyer*, such as he alludes to, may not by *rummaging some musty Record, happily find a President* to shew it a Libel on the Majority of the House of Commons. At best it is a very insidious Attempt to render them and our worthy Lord Lieutenant, suspected of Disregard to our national Interest.

But as all such Proceedings will meet with proper Censure from Persons of Judgment, it is only necessary for Your Lordship and the Magistrates by publick Avowals of Your Disapprobation, to prevent such thoughtless Crowds gathering in Tumults, as by similar Means, have heretofore been raised, to the Disgrace of this Metropolis : But it is to be hoped Experience of the dangerous Consequences of such Riots, has rendered the People more wise than to venture their Lives in Support of a Faction ; and when 'tis certain nothing Strengthens so much the Force of bad Power, as a riotous, illegal Opposition. 'Tis then Government is justified in calling out her Forces at Home, which will not only punish the Offenders, but if at that Time in the Hands of a Power grasping Monarch, may be exerted to fatal Purposes.

From these Considerations 'tis reasonable to suppose the laudable Attentions shewn by Your Lordship in this Time of Scarcity, to secure the Poor from the Addition of artificial Famine by illegal Prices or fraudulent Weights, will not be diverted from this Mode of Preservation to exert against them the avenging Sword of Power, which the Laws have put into the Hands of Government, for a Protection to the Good and a Terror to those that do Ill. Since it is by a decent Submission to the higher Powers, we can alone expect Peace to be within our Walls, and Plenteousness within our Palaces.

I have the Honour of declaring myself,

My Lord,

Your most Faithful,

And, I hope profitable Servant,

A FREE CITIZEN.

